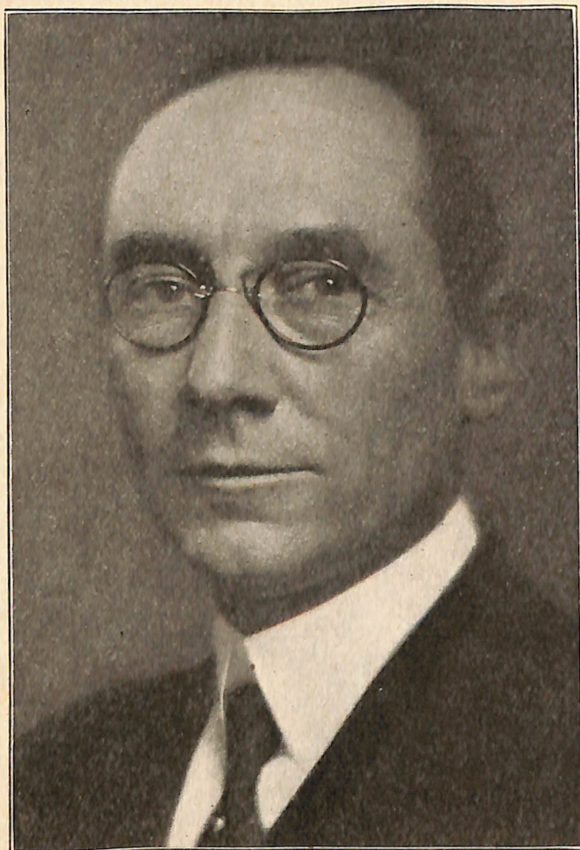


Progress In Race Relations

A SURVEY
*of the
Work of the Commission
on Interracial Co-operation
for the Year 1923-24*



JOHN J. EAGAN

*"But thou wouldst not alone
.....
Conquer and come to thy goal,
Leaving the rest in the wild."*

PROGRESS IN RACE RELATIONS

During the year 1923-24 the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its affiliated state and local committees have been active in the states of Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma. In Arkansas and Florida, which were organized in the early days of the movement, enforced limitation of staff has made it impossible to follow the work up closely. However, the spirit of the movement still persists in those states in committees and individuals here and there, and doubtless tends somewhat to leaven the lump of public sentiment and attitudes.

In addition to its work in the South, the general office has been called upon for information, literature and personal visitation by many communities in the North and East, in which, because of the recent heavy Negro migration, the Commission's plans are being studied and in many cases adopted. Inquiries and visitors from other lands, also, chiefly from South Africa, indicate that the interracial plan is being given earnest and favorable consideration abroad, as affording a possible solution for problems which appear even graver than our own.

The central office has kept in touch with all the state committees and has maintained in the field nine secretaries, white and colored. At least six more are needed to cover the ground adequately. Meantime the present limited staff is meeting the need as best it can, some of the secretaries being responsible for two or more states each.

Reorganization in Alabama and Mississippi—A year ago Mr. J. D. Burton, secretary for Tennessee, was given responsibility also for the work in Alabama. He has made encouraging progress in the reorganization of the forces in that state. Meetings of representative citizens, well attended and enthusiastic, have been held in Birmingham, Montgomery, and Mobile, conditions frankly faced, and definite plans for betterment put on foot. Commenting on the meeting of 150 representative citizens in Birmingham, *The Reporter*, leading Negro paper, says: "These interracial conferences are rapidly educating the people to a fairer and more considerate manner of dealing with the humbler folk of all groups and races. The Commission is the best organization for the handling of human questions that has come to the American people since the days of slavery." From a colored leader in Anniston comes this testimony: "We rejoice in the light of splendid changes. The Interracial Commission came in at a crucial moment; hope had almost fled; no other group or agency could have accomplished so

much in so short a time." Specific results of the work in Alabama, as in the other states, will be set forth further along in this report.

In the spring of 1924, Mr. R. W. Miles and Dr. J. T. Hodges, secretaries for Virginia and the Carolinas, were sent for a while into Mississippi, where the work, lacking the services of a secretary, had been moving slowly. The state committee was reorganized under able and influential leadership, and local committees were set up in the principal centers. The Governor is in hearty accord with the program, and the Assistant Attorney-General of the State is the executive secretary of the committee. The President of the State Bar Association is one of its members, and is especially interested in securing for the Negro a square deal in the courts. The State Boards of Education and of Health are represented on the committee also by able men deeply interested in the interracial program. If the opportunity now offered in Mississippi can be properly followed up, a new era in race relations in that state can be ushered in.

Louisiana—In Louisiana also the work seems to be on the eve of rapid development. Mr. W. W. Hadnott, colored secretary for that state, says: "The popularity of the movement is growing by leaps and bounds. White people are no longer afraid of it, and increasing numbers are taking an active interest in its program. Colored people are gaining confidence." The Louisiana State Committee was reorganized during the year and has set for itself three objectives: (1) to promote good will; (2) to study the social, civic, health, economic, educational and moral needs of colored people; and (3) to promote constructive efforts to meet these needs. Committees on legislation, economic and civic agencies, publicity, and local organization were appointed. The state committee is headed by Prof. L. M. Favrot, a leading educator, and its membership is made up of people in positions of influence and power. A year ago leading women of Louisiana were organized as the woman's section of the committee and immediately went on record by the adoption of a vigorous statement in the interest of justice, good will, and equality before the law. The state secretary has addressed many important groups and the publicity committee is cultivating a list of 600 or more influential people. State officials, the Y. M. C. A., local chambers of commerce, and government demonstration agents are cooperating in the movement. Leading colored men offer the following estimate of the work: "Interracial cooperation offers the best plan yet devised for the improvement of race relations. Through it our people have more hope than ever before."

Virginia and the Carolinas—The most important development in Virginia during the year was the inclusion of local interracial committees in the county cabinets of social agencies which are being organized throughout the state, the interracial program thus securing place as an integral part of the official county welfare program. The committee at Newport News continues to be a model

for the whole South, having for several years met monthly and carried on a continuous program of constructive activity.

General conditions in North Carolina are quite favorable and the work of the state and local committees move along quietly. New committees were recently set up in Raleigh and Charlotte. North Carolina's program of Negro education continues to lead the South, appropriations for this purpose having increased in eleven years from \$225,000 to \$4,000,000 a year. The state supervisor of Negro schools, who has been largely responsible for this increase, is a member of the state interracial committee and also of the general Commission.

Renewed activity on the part of the state committee, and especially the woman's section of that committee, has characterized the work in South Carolina during the year. The committee itself raised funds to finance the organization of a number of new groups and is setting itself to definite tasks. Many of the first people of the state, men and women, are actively interested.

Kentucky.—The annual Kentucky state meeting, held in Louisville last December, was a striking demonstration of the influence that the movement is exercising in that state. Invitations to the meeting were sent out by the Governor, who is ex-officio chairman of the state committee, and several hundred key people were present. An effective program was carried out, dealing with the subjects of education, health, industry, and the Klan, as related to the Negro. Findings were adopted setting forth generous objectives, particularly in the matter of education, and the executive committee was instructed to work toward these ends. A membership campaign was authorized, as a means of promoting interest and securing financial support, and several hundred paid members have been enrolled. Coincident with the state meeting a woman's state committee was organized with a membership of thirty white women, led by Mrs. Charles Semple, Mrs. Helm Bruce, and others of large influence and leadership. As the coordinate cooperating body, a committee of leading Negro women was set up at the same time. The Kentucky Committee has the sympathy and support of the various state departments, and works in closest harmony with the Y. M. C. A., the Boy Scout movement, and other agencies of like nature.

Tennessee—In Tennessee conditions are comparatively quite favorable and the interracial movement has general support and no avowed opposition. Monthly bulletins are mailed by the secretary to committees throughout the state and very favorable reports are returned from many quarters. Three sectional meetings were held, at Chattanooga, Nashville, and Memphis, with an aggregate attendance of 500. In addition a meeting of the colored division was held in Nashville, where 1,200 colored teachers heard the message of good will from a number of speakers, including state officials. In Tennessee, also, a paid membership is being developed, which has already passed the 1,500 mark.

Georgia—Considering the difficulties inherent in local conditions, the movement has perhaps made greater progress in Georgia than in any other state. Both a white and a colored secretary give entire time to this state, Dr. J. W. Jackson having been employed last spring for special work with the colored committees. A change in the secretaryship in Georgia has just taken place, Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., having been assigned to the development of the interracial work in the colleges and succeeded in Georgia by Mr. Clark Foreman. As will be seen elsewhere in this report, much attention has been given in Georgia to a campaign in the courts against mob violence and to the provision of legal aid in flagrant cases of injustice and oppression.

Texas and Oklahoma—At the recent annual meeting Mr. E. M. Castleberry retired from the directorship in Texas. Having gone back to Oklahoma for educational work, he will give part time attention to the interracial program in that state, succeeding Dr. H. T. S. Johnson, who resigned from the secretaryship last spring. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, organizer and first president of the Texas League of Women Voters and a woman of wide acquaintance and influence, has taken over the work in Texas. Her efforts have been directed principally to the organization and stimulation of local committees in strategic centers.

Following is a brief and quite inadequate survey of definite activities during the past year:

EDUCATION

From the first the effort to secure better educational facilities for Negroes has been an important part of the work of interracial committees, state and local. The results are evident in hundreds of new school buildings of all grades, in longer terms, in better pay for teachers, and in the establishment of new state institutions, in all of which interracial groups have been instrumental, wholly or in part. Below is some part of this record for the past year:

Georgia—Completion of \$1,250,000 Negro school building program in Atlanta, as the result of an agreement negotiated by the local interracial committee. Continued efforts on the part of Atlanta Committee to improve the colored schools and to relieve congestion; school administration entirely sympathetic.

Appropriation of \$1,500 secured at Fort Valley, for Rosenwald addition to colored high school. Committee at work for Rosenwald school at Madison. Assistance rendered in a number of Rosenwald projects in other places.

Effort made to secure bond issue for Negro schools at Athens; effort unsuccessful, but sentiment created which affords good basis for later success.

Thousand of volumes collected by Atlanta woman's committee, assisted by club women, for the library of Clark University.

Kentucky—The Kentucky State Committee succeeded in writing into the bond issue bill authorized by the legislature and to be voted on by the people a provision that a million dollars of the proceeds be applied to state schools for the higher education of Negroes.

Dr. James Bond, interracial secretary and chairman of the legislative committee of the Kentucky Negro Educational Association, is urging a \$500,000 legislative appropriation for Negro schools; additions and equipment secured for colored high schools in Boyd county, and at Elizabethtown; committee at Frankfort has been promised location for new colored high school, for which the funds have already been voted; numerous other committees have helped in securing new school buildings, longer terms, and more and better paid teachers", according to Dr. Bond; "back to school drive" conducted by interracial committees in sixty-three counties in Kentucky.

Mrs. Atwood Martin, well known author, is preparing for the state committee a brief popular brochure on Negro history and the Negro's contribution to American life, with a view to its incorporation in the history course of the public schools. If successful in Kentucky, the effort will be made to get such a course adopted in other states.

Tennessee—Five new school buildings erected in Memphis at a total cost of \$350,000 and a new \$250,000 high school to be built. The Memphis committee, with the help of one of the big daily papers, secured an eight-room industrial annex to the colored high school. The county school officials are cooperating with the committee. School term in the county has been lengthened by a month or more and salaries increased.

In 1922 the state committee secured the appropriation of \$50,000 for a vocational school for colored girls, and last year saved the bill from repeal. The building has been erected and the school is now in successful operation. The committee continues its work for its adequate equipment and maintenance.

Fifteen thousand dollar school building and equipment secured at McMinnville; \$15,000 modern brick school at Rogersville; two new schools at Union City, \$3,600; seven new Rosenwald schools, Davidson county; \$6,000 Rosenwald school, McKenzie; superintendents of schools and other white citizens conferring with Negroes as to their educational needs at Tullahoma; Jackson committee working for branch library for Negroes.

Virginia—The state and county committees in Virginia lent all possible aid in an effort to have the state take over the Manassas Industrial School for Negro Boys. The effort was unsuccessful but will be continued.

South Carolina—Appropriation of \$2,000 secured from the South Carolina legislature, for partial support of Fairwold School for delinquent Negro girls. This is the first state appropriation

ever made to this school, which heretofore has been maintained by the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. The state committee will endeavor to have the amount increased and the school ultimately taken over by the state.

At Aiken, S. C., members of the interracial committee led a bond issue campaign for \$25,000 for a Negro school, which was voted unanimously. The committee at Cowpens helped in financing a modern Rosenwald school.

Alabama—High school and several modern rural schools, one costing \$38,000, erected in and around Mobile. At Anniston, the home of the former interracial secretary for that state, the value of Negro school property has increased in two years from \$3,000 to more than \$50,000, including a new \$20,000 industrial high and a \$30,000 grammar school. Schools in Selma improved and teachers better paid. Montgomery committee seeking better school provisions.

Louisiana—The Louisiana state committee has pledged itself to work for a state reform school for Negro boys, and for improved educational conditions in general. Bill for Negro normal passed by the legislature almost unanimously, largely through efforts of a member of the state committee, who is also chairman of the education committee of the legislature. Schools built at Napoleonville and Franklin; \$2,000 raised for new school at Lafayette; working for Rosenwald school at Slidell.

Texas—Local committees in Texas are helping Negroes secure the benefits of the Rosenwald and Jeanes funds.

In addition to such enterprises as the above, in which interracial committees have participated, has been the rapid voluntary increase made in late years by the southern states in their public provisions for Negro education. The sixteen-fold increase in eleven years in North Carolina, for example, has already been pointed out. In all the other southern states the per capita so expended is now two, three, and in one case five times as much as ten years ago. That the Commission has indirectly helped toward this end, far beyond its influence in local situations, can hardly be doubted, in view of its many close contacts with educational leaders and officials, and its persistent cultivation of public sentiment in behalf of fairer division of school funds.

HEALTH

For the past two years the Commission has had primary responsibility for the promotion in the South of National Negro Health Week, which was very widely and effectively observed in 1924.

Kentucky—In Kentucky the state committee had the hearty cooperation of health boards, Y. M. C. A., teachers, preachers, and

many other agencies, and put over an effective campaign in sixty-three counties. The franking privilege was granted the committee by the State Board of Health and fifteen thousand pieces of literature were sent out.

Tennessee—In Memphis the Department of Health and other agencies lent generous aid in the Health Week program and twenty-five thousand leaflets were distributed there. The observance of Health Week was general over the state. Mercy Hospital for Negroes, recently established in Bristol through the efforts of the local interracial committee, is now being financed largely by the same group.

Virginia—Through cooperation with the State Boards of Health and Education, the Tuberculosis Association, and the Negro Organization Society, a state-wide health program was put over, more general and effective than ever before. Campaigns for pure milk and better housing conducted by Newport News Committee.

South Carolina—Tuberculosis camp established in Charleston, with facilities for patients of both races.

Georgia—The woman's state committee supplied funds some time ago for putting a colored nurse into the State Health Department, to work in the division of maternal and infant hygiene. The experiment was so successful that the department has taken over the nurse and added a second. These nurses hold clinics and classes over the state and thousands of colored mothers and babies are being benefited. An effort is under way by the state committee to raise several thousand dollars to put a colored bureau in the State Department of Welfare, this bureau to supervise colored orphanages, almshouses, and juvenile probation boards. The committee in Augusta has helped to put over a comprehensive survey which will probably result in a colored tuberculosis hospital, legal aid bureau, and community chest. The committee in Savannah has made improvements around the Negro hospital.

Alabama—In Birmingham, where there is a large Negro industrial population, the committee has raised several thousand dollars to be used in stimulating the building of better Negro homes by owners, landlords and corporations. Handsome cash prizes have been offered. The contest has received much publicity and excellent results are anticipated.

Louisiana—The state committee, through one of its members, Dr. Dowling, who is also president of the Louisiana Board of Health, is seeking to have a colored physician and nurse added to the state health staff. Dr. Dowling is also directing an extensive survey of Negro housing and sanitation in which local committees are enlisted. The committee is cooperating with the Louisiana Commission for the Blind in support of a new institution which will care for colored as well as for white patients. For this purpose a colored auxiliary has been formed. General cooperation in

the Health Week program, through the offer of prizes and otherwise, has been reported from a number of Louisiana towns.

Texas—A Texas committee reports efforts in behalf of proper sewerage disposal for the colored section of the town.

LYNCHING, LEGAL AID AND CONCILIATION

The campaign against lynching has been pushed unceasingly, through the newspapers, by means of pamphlets, of which many thousands have been circulated, on the platform, and by the efforts of local committees. To what extent this campaign has been effective one cannot say. However, the rapid decrease of lynchings, from 58 in 1922 to 28 in 1923 and to five in the first six months of 1924, indicates clearly that something has been stirring the consciences of officials and of the public with relation to this crime.

In one case in Kentucky in which there was great excitement and apparent probability of lynching, the interracial secretary and the local committee took prompt steps which allayed the feeling and averted the threatened danger. In previous years there have been a number of such cases in which lynchings have been prevented. In Georgia, where the committee has secured evidence, employed attorneys and carried into the courts a number of cases of mob violence, there have been but two lynchings in the first nine months of 1924, as against twenty-one in 1919. Each must draw his own conclusions as to the measure in which the various influences operative have contributed to these ends.

The Georgia Committee has extended legal aid in more than a dozen strategic cases where the defedant was unable to secure competent representation, one being a case of murder and another a case of peonage. Through the efforts of a member of the Georgia committee the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta has established a legal aid bureau, to be supported by the Community Chest. A similar step appears likely in Augusta. This type of work is greatly needed, since it provides the only effective safeguard against court injustices, loan sharks and the like.

The woman's committee in Atlanta has secured the appointment of an additional colored police matron, while the committee at Newport News, Va., is seeking to have a Negro policewoman appointed.

In South Carolina, ex-Governor Manning, a member of the state committee, is heading a sub-committee appointed to bring the matter of court justice for Negroes to the attention of the state and county bar associations. Certain local committees in North Carolina are working to the same end.

In Memphis conferences have been held with the police and other officers and their cooperation requested in obviating undue severity and court injustice in dealing with Negroes. The attitude

of the officers was sympathetic and good has resulted. The Nashville committee has supplied able legal aid in at least one case where a serious miscarriage of justice seemed probable. In Louisville the committee has helped to allay bitterness and to work out solutions in several threatening cases of racial friction. In Boyd County, Kentucky, under the leadership of a prominent jurist, the interracial committee has done effective work in checking the spread of racial and religious prejudice. The committee in Florence, Alabama, has been twice called together to smooth out differences and forestall trouble. That in Gainesville, Ga., has been reorganized to deal with recent unfortunate incidents which caused strained relations. Successful mediation of differences reported from Abbeville, La.

Following the fire in Newbern, N. C., in which a large part of the Negro residence section was burned, serious friction developed from the effort to prevent the Negroes rebuilding in the burned area. The situation was carefully investigated by the interracial secretary and valuable service was rendered in effecting an adjustment. A movement for residential segregation in Dallas has been held up pending a thorough investigation, through the efforts of the interracial committee. The committee is financing and assisting in a housing survey, with the hope of turning the whole movement toward constructive ends.

PUBLIC UTILITIES AND CIVIC ADVANTAGES

The effort to correct injustices and hardships suffered by colored people through discriminatory laws and customs relative to residence, transportation, civic advantages and the like, has everywhere been an important feature of the interracial work. Investigations of the conditions of travel have been made in many states and the facts brought to the attention of railroad officials and public service commissions. As a result, abuses have been corrected and travel conditions improved in Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, and other states. Improvement in railroad station facilities and more courteous treatment of colored people are reported from several Alabama towns.

Local committees have led or assisted in securing a swimming pool for colored children in New Orleans; commodious playground and community house, two additional school playgrounds, and sixty additional street lights in Mobile; three playgrounds, with colored supervisors, white help for athletic fund for colored boys, and conferences in the interest of better motion picture films between white and colored women in Chattanooga; street improvements and better sanitation in a number of Alabama towns; tuberculosis camp, playground and athletic field in Charleston; extension of water system, Franklin, Tenn.; improvement in health, housing, sanitation and court conditions, Morristown, Tenn.; better library facilities in a number of places; share in the use of white Y. M. C. A. playgrounds tendered by white boys to colored boys of

Lynchburg; welfare of colored boys made part of Atlanta Rotary Club objective, and interracial representative called in by the club to help formulate program.

Assistance has been rendered in getting colored welfare agencies included in a number of community chests, as in Atlanta, Louisville, Lynchburg, Memphis and Richmond. Representatives of the Commission have been active in mobilizing the colored people for participation in these campaigns, and in establishing contacts between the leaders of the two groups. In Memphis \$25,000 has been included in the chest budget for a Negro orphanage fostered by the interracial committee. Negro agencies in Atlanta participate in the chest to the extent of \$60,000 a year.

Atlanta, Louisville, and Richmond have recognized the interracial committees as valuable social service agencies and have included them in the chest budget for \$3,000, \$2,200 and \$2,500 respectively.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Many of the Negro's ills are directly economic, and yet others root in economic conditions. The correction of such ills is peculiarly difficult. Nevertheless, the Commission has been able to attack these problems here and there. At Jackson, Tenn., the help of bankers was secured in financing the operations of Negro farm boys, furnishing seeds, fertilizers, etc. The Dyersburg, Tenn., committee reports hearty cooperation in the encouragement of colored enterprises. At Monroe, Ga., a big farmer's meeting was arranged, at which crop diversification, farm methods and the relations of land owners and tenants were discussed in a helpful way.

For the first time, Negro farmers were given recognition in the Texas State Fair at Dallas, through the efforts of the interracial committee. Generous cash and ribbon awards were given for products of Negro club boys. Efforts are being made to get similar recognition in the Waco Cotton Palace and in a number of smaller fairs. The Texas home demonstration agent reports that the help of local committees has enabled her to place six new county agents in that state. Space in the South Carolina State Fair was secured for colored people by the state committee. Indirect influences helped them to get very favorable recognition in the Southeastern Fair at Atlanta, also. The Georgia Committee was able to place on Negro farms and in the colored agricultural schools a number of demonstrations in boll weevil control.

A series of page advertisements was run in the Birmingham News, calling attention to the unfavorable economic conditions and injustices from which Negroes suffer, and appealing for their correction. These statements made a deep impression. As already stated, the Birmingham committee is now engaged in a campaign for better housing for colored people.

In one of the large cities a group of lawyers, bankers and business men, led by members of the interracial committee, have recently given much time to the effort to help out of serious financial difficulty some local Negro business concerns.

In New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville and other cities committees on race relations have been appointed by the chambers of commerce, and valuable contacts established thereby. In New Orleans this committee works with the Negro Civic League toward the full inclusion of the colored population in the civic program of the community. A survey of local conditions is being made by these agencies, in which special attention is given to the educational conditions and needs of colored people. The secretary of the chamber of commerce of Shreveport, La., is a member of the local interracial committee and is cooperating heartily. In Memphis the interracial committee is a sub-committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

WORK IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

A most hopeful phase of the Commission's work is its contacts with college groups, through conferences of professors and students, race relations courses, correspondence, visitation, and addresses. About sixty race relations classes are conducted in southern colleges as part of the regular work, besides many voluntary classes and discussion groups. Professors giving these courses say they are invariably popular and effective in creating right attitudes. Two conferences of interested professors are held annually, one east and one west of the Mississippi, to study this subject and to plan for its proper presentation in their respective schools. At such a meeting of Texas professors last winter fifteen colleges were represented, favorable reports were made from a number of race relations courses, and a committee was appointed to formulate plans for the introduction of such courses in the other colleges of the state.

In the several summer conferences of college men and women, race relations has had a prominent place in study classes and on the platform. Members of the Commission's staff presented the subject in every meeting in the South last summer, and also before several conferences at Geneva and Silver Bay.

Dr. Geo. Carver, the noted Tuskegee scientist, toured the colleges of South Carolina under the auspices of the Commission, and spoke to 3,500 white students. He was heard everywhere with the deepest interest, respect and appreciation, and made a profound impression. Dr. J. T. Hodges, colored secretary in Virginia and the Carolinas, carried the interracial message to the Field Council of Virginia college students and was cordially received. He also spoke by invitation in six of the largest colleges and universities in that state and made a most favorable impression. Dr. James Bond, director for Kentucky, has carried the message of interracial good will into nearly all the white and Negro colleges

of that state, and into a number of high schools. Two Negro educators of Mississippi, members of our state committee, spoke before the white older boys Y. M. C. A. conference in that state and were given a sympathetic hearing. Similar contacts were established in South Carolina. In addition, members of the headquarters staff spoke by invitation in a number of the larger institutions.

In more than one college center interracial student groups have been organized and have met at frequent intervals for frank conference and the interchange of viewpoints. Two such groups in Nashville, composed of students of Vanderbilt, Peabody and Fisk, were notably successful. A fine interracial committee has been set up at Washington and Lee University, with a student as its chairman. In this work the college Y. M. C. A. has cooperated heartily and is now helping to work out a plan for the more systematic and effective presentation of this subject in southern colleges. The value of these contacts in promoting interracial understanding and appreciation among those who are to lead the next generation can hardly be overestimated.

The series of fourteen state and national maps prepared by the Commission, showing principal lynching areas and data, have been widely used in the colleges and have provoked a great deal of interest.

The Director of the Commission has been called into interracial institutes in some of the great universities of the North, to help in the adjustment of attitudes and the solution of specific problems. The office has had numerous calls also to furnish information for use in college study classes, addresses and debates on various phases of race relations.

This branch of the work seems to hold so great possibilities that Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., for several years secretary for Georgia, is being relieved of that responsibility and set free for whole time work with the colleges. He has prepared and will soon bring out a text book on race relations, in response to a general demand on the part of college people. It is believed that this book will be widely studied, not in college groups only, but generally. Dr. Woofter will not only foster the introduction of race relations courses in all the colleges, but will seek also to have this subject made the basis of as much post-graduate work as possible. It is believed that nothing the Commission is doing is more potential of good than its efforts in this field.

THE PRESS

The general office maintains a press service which reaches regularly all the daily papers in the South, more than a hundred leading religious papers, and all the colored papers of the country. The aim of this service is to interpret to each race the best thought and effort of the other in the matter of race relations, and thus to foster mutual understanding, appreciation and good will. More than fifty releases were sent out during the year to one or all of these lists. In addition special articles were sent from time to

time to other lists—college magazines, farm weeklies, women's journals and labor papers. Altogether more than 25,000 separate releases were mailed out, thousands of which found their way into print. Two hundred papers, all the way from Boston to Los Angeles and from Charleston to Seattle, are represented in the clippings of these releases which we have been able to secure. Undoubtedly they appeared in hundreds of other papers from which we have had no reports.

The fight against lynching has been pressed with especial persistence and vigor through the newspapers, a half dozen different releases on this subject having been sent to the white papers. These have not only been widely published, but have stimulated a great volume of editorial comment that has helped to make sentiment against this crime.

The editors, almost to a man, have shown themselves intelligently sympathetic and ready to cooperate with the Commission's program. This has been especially notable in the case of the great dailies, with scarcely an exception. In a number of crucial situations they have done much to turn the tide in favor of justice and good will. Many of these papers have given the Commission's work their warm editorial endorsement. The Associated Press also, within the limits of its necessary requirements, has been most cordial and helpful in getting out our stories to the public.

In addition to our general press service, a great deal of local material has been supplied by field secretaries to the papers of their respective states. The Louisiana state committee has an active and effective sub-committee on publicity, composed of a professional publicity man and two of the leading editors.

CONTACT WITH CHURCH GROUPS

As close relations as possible have been maintained with the great church groups, through their representatives on the Commission, by the presentation of the interracial message to conventions, conferences, synods, summer assemblies and the like, and through the church press. Courses on race relations have been given in nearly all the summer conferences, and the subject has been presented on the platforms of many important church gatherings by both white and colored speakers representing the Commission, as well as before many district and local groups all over the South. The program of the Commission has been repeatedly endorsed by most of the great Protestant denominations. Several church boards are contributing to its support and a number have adopted certain of its methods as part of their regular program. Local cooperation between white and colored church groups is reported from a number of centers. This has been especially notable in Atlanta, where very sympathetic and helpful relations have been established. The work with the church has been done in affiliation with the Commission on Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

WOMAN'S WORK

This branch of the Commission's work, in charge of Mrs. Luke Johnson, is counted by many the most significant phase of the interracial movement. Strong state committees of women, all in positions of influence and leadership in their respective civic and religious groups, have been organized to date in eleven states, that in Kentucky having been set up within the last year. In Alabama and Arkansas these committees have ceased to function because of certain unfavorable conditions which arose. In the other nine states, however, they are holding together and, where it has been possible to give them the necessary attention, are doing good work. Each of these committees has formulated and given to the public a vigorous pronouncement in behalf of interracial justice and good will. The unmeasured condemnation of lynching invariably voiced by these groups, and their demand for its utter suppression, have undoubtedly done much to stir the public conscience on this subject.

The women's committees usually begin with a study of the conditions and needs of the Negro, both from text books and practically, centering on the church, the school and the home. As a result of such study, many of these groups, both state and local, are working effectively toward definite ends. Repeated references to their work have been made in the preceding pages. Mrs. Luke Johnson, Director of the Woman's Work, says, "The interest of these groups is growing so rapidly that its conservation and direction have become a serious problem. These women have passed the stage of sentiment and are demanding definite plans and effective methods of work."

This is true not only of the state committees of women. The organized women of nine great religious bodies also are affiliated with the Commission, affording potential points of contact with thousands of local organizations having millions of members. These bodies are the Southern Baptists, Disciples, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Southern Presbyterians, Southern Methodists, Methodists North, Council of Women for Home Missions and Y. W. C. A. A plan of action for denominational groups has been drawn up by the women members of the Commission, recommending that in the headquarters of each denomination a committee on interracial work be created to study conditions and to formulate and put into effect a practical program. The cooperation of colored women with the Commission is facilitated by the inclusion in its membership of eight members of the Southeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.

It would be hard to overestimate the significance of this general mobilization of southern womanhood for the creation of right attitudes and the promotion of justice toward the Negro. No phase of the Commission's work has been more encouraging or more generally acclaimed as marking an epoch in the Christianizing of race relations.

UNTABULABLE RESULTS

In connection with the above report, it should be remembered that three serious difficulties stand in the way of any adequate evaluation of the Commission's work and influence. There is first the difficulty of getting reports from hundreds of local committees scattered over a dozen states. Unless an achievement be very conspicuous, it may never come to the attention of the central office at all. Again, it is impossible to claim credit for a great deal of progress for which the Commission is probably responsible. For example, multitudes of state officials have been brought into the organization and have been given a new viewpoint, which has resulted in a more liberal official policy with relation to Negro welfare. The Commission has made it a point to develop as many such contacts as possible. The connection between this fact and the increased public provision for Negro welfare that is so evident throughout the South cannot be demonstrated mathematically, but that such a connection exists can hardly be questioned.

There is a third difficulty in the fact that fundamentally the Commission is dealing with attitudes, and attitudes are subjective and intangible. They cannot be tabulated. That great changes have taken place in this realm within recent years is everywhere evident and universally admitted. The commission, as the chief agency working toward this end for several years past, can hardly be denied some share of credit for this result.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The support of the Commission's work is drawn chiefly from Laura Spelman Memorial, the Carnegie Corporation, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and the great church boards, notably those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, and the Council of Women for Home Missions. A constituency of individual givers, also, is being built up slowly in the South and, as indicated before, the work is beginning to be recognized in southern Community Chests.

MR. EAGAN'S DEATH

The passing last spring of John J. Eagan, chairman of the Commission from its organization, was felt by the members collectively and personally as a great and irreparable loss. In view of his intimate connection with the movement from the first and the able and devoted leadership he had given it, there were those who questioned whether his death would not seriously cripple the work, or even make its continuance impossible. At the succeeding annual meeting, however, the feeling was unanimous that it must go on. Mr. Eagan's spirit was felt by every member of the Commission as an inspiration and a challenge to go forward more devotedly than before in the cause to which he had given himself so unreservedly. There was unanimous agreement in the choice of Dr. M. Ashby Jones, of Atlanta, as his successor.

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“Numbered among our population are some 12,000,000 colored people. Under our Constitution their rights are just as sacred as those of any other citizen. It is both a public and a private duty to protect those rights. . . . On account of the migration of large numbers into industrial centers, it has been proposed that a commission be created, composed of members from both races, to formulate a better policy for mutual understanding and confidence. Such an effort is to be commended. Everyone would rejoice in the accomplishment of the results which it seeks. But it is well to recognize that these difficulties are to a large extent local problems which must be worked out by the mutual forbearance and human kindness of each community. Such a method gives much more promise of a real remedy than outside interference.”—*From President Coolidge’s Message to Congress, December, 1923.*